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"ON THE REORGANIZATION OF THE PEOPLE'S FORCES

- "1. A year after the elections of 5 March the political situation of the country has completely deteriorated. There was not given any stable continuation to the election outburst of the democratic forces of the people, either from above (with the Plastiras Government), nor from below (with any effective organization and activity on the part of the popular factor). The hope of ensuring by the elections a democratic evolution has been a disappointment, for the time being at any rate, and the period continues to be as revolutionary as it was before. The old party factionalism, the economic oligarchy and the police and military bureaucracy, hold firmly in their hands all the decisive posts and without any responsibility they determine the course and fortune of the nation. The international situation, with its new acuteness, favors these forces and provides them with a cloak to make permanent the anti-revolutionary methods which they are applying. The working masses exist without a defender and suffer from the after-effects of an unequalled economic exploitation and the political terrorism which accompanies it.
- "2. The dead state in which the political life of our country finds itself is not without dangers for the Greek people and nation. For ten years now our country has been facing a serious social crisis, which, separate and distinct from the political forms it takes each time, has the following general and more serious historical significance: with its monopolistic and parasitic formation, the Greek capitalistic oligarchy has reached a state of complete contradiction to the needs of the further growth of the nation's forces of production, and as long as this contradiction is not overcome, Greek economy reflects and will continue to reflect (but in a much greater degree) a pathological and sickly condition. Simultaneously, the entire 'old city-political world' has become conclusively bankrupt and thrown its luck in with capitalistic construction and does not correspond in any way to the pursuits of the Greek people. In its more general historical projection the Greek crisis is the product of conflict between the oligarchic economy and the political direction which the regularly-established authority follows, and the democratic tendencies which are created and developed continuously within the working class. This conflict leads to the historical need of a change which must insure the democratization of Greek social and political life and, more particularly, the abolition of the products of the monopolistic and parasitic capitalistic oligarchy; the creation of new productive associations which will bind more closely and make worthier the productive activity of the working nation; the decisive intervention of the popular masses in the political life of the country; and the substantive functioning of political democracy so that it would correspond to the needs of the people's strata. On the whole, the Greek nation finds itself before a decisive bend in the road, which is fixed by the imperative quest of a democratic historical outlet. The economic and political forces which today reign throughout the land constitute an absolute barrier to this road. The longer this is prolonged, the more there develop dissolute tendencies within the social and political life of the land, and the more it threatens the very foundation of the nation.
- "3. The Greek people (who are objectively strong) and the Greek popular movements were unable, within the past ten years, to secure this democratic outlet and the national democratic transformation upon which they could have entered very easily. The popular movement, despite its heroic and strenuous commencement of resistance, despite its unprecedented development, and despite the trouble and sacrifices of thousands of combatants, broke down on its course and has now reached a very low point in its ideological policy, in its organizational judgment and now is on the point of dissolution. This bending of the popular factor is, in the final analysis, that force which permitted the machinery of modern Greek history to retrogress ten years; it also permitted the course and parasitism of

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economic oligarchy to survive, and the return to the political scene of dead and decomposed old party politics. The responsibility for this degeneration of the popular movement weighs heavily upon the KKE leadership. The Communist leadership, a prisoner of narrow organizational and political perceptions, and of an exclusively international dependence on Russo-Soviet methods of force, was unable to correspond equally with the broad national and democratic needs of the Greek popular movement; within the boundaries of its illegality, it fell into a policy line of error which wearied, upset and weakened the movement, and which ultimately helped no one but the forces of reaction. The Greek crisis, from the side of the popular forces and democratic transformation, becomes integrated with the crisis which the popular movement experienced and still continues to experience, being prevented from playing its decisive progressive role which it historically deserves.

- "4. The particular serious danger which is created from here on in is that a Caesar-like tendency is cultivated and matured behind the constantly-dissolute old party politics, with the assistance of various groups. This 'Caesarism', speculating in the clime of the threatening economic bankruptcy, the general despair and the international war psychosis, is probably making preparations through elections to sweep up at the proper moment whatever has been left upright in the free political life of the country, to frustrate conclusively the reorganization of the popular forces, and to blanket the entire life of the land with a sound program of social, political and spiritual counter-revolution.
- "5. The basic problems which today come to light are as follows: the popular forces must re-group themselves in such a manner as to permit a new historical attempt to liberate the land from the morass of old party factionalism and the adventures of 'Caesarism', and to accomplish the democratic transformation of the land. From a national viewpoint, this is the only way to ensure a renewal of the national forces and the furtherance of a progressive course for the nation. From the international viewpoint, this attempt can be categorized as one looking toward the maintenance of peace. This view, despite the international tension and war-like atmosphere which has been created, continues to be the more likely for a good many years to come, and it is possible to anticipate very soon a lessening of the international crisis which will favor to a large degree the democratic evolution of the country.
- "6. The re-grouping of the popular forces and the fulfillment of their objectives must be done on a consistently democratic national basis. The democratic transformation of the country cannot be the work of a conspiracy which would impose, via wireless, its will on the popular masses. Nor can it, so long as the hope for peace lasts, involve itself in the trials of international antagonism, because it would become a concession to the generosity of one or another strong power. The political and social emancipation of the Greek workers is a task for the workers and must be secured by their struggle and their progressive climb in the political and social life of the land. The nation will accomplish its historical destiny proceeding in accordance with the laws of organic evolution. Only by following such a line will it be possible for them to forge the necessary new political framework for the country's movement.
- "7. This framework cannot be supplied by the political action of EPEK. EPEK is less the organic product of a new political course of the people and more the chance result of a doubly-negative trial of the destruction of the old party factionalism and the crisis of the left. EPEK is a temporary state

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of despair of the democratic masses for lack of another purer orientation of political form and organization. It makes no difference that today it (EPEK) embraces a certain part of the progressive masses and a sizeable number of democratic members, for it devotes neither ideological, nor political, nor organizational presuppositions in order to crystallize, make clear, make worthy and make firm the democratic current with which it was met. It still suffers within its ranks the destruction and pressure of strong capitalism and the flavor of old party circles. There is no guarantee that, once having gained power again, it would not come to terms once again (as it did last year) with the right. EPEK is not, nor can it become, the decisive factor in the more general rebirth which the times call for; it can only contribute to a more general revival movement outside of its organizational framework and a position which only one part of its forces can take within the entire popular and democratic struggle.

- "8. Nor can the development of the popular strength come about in connection with the positions and pursuits which the present leadership of the KKE puts forth. This is precluded not only organizationally and technically, because the KKE still exists illegally, but also from a more general political standpoint. The KKE leadership, either because it was not taught anything by the defeat of the insurrection or because it finds as the sole alternative to the internal crisis its blind adherence to the form of the American-Soviet antagonism, is entirely outside Greek practicality and continues to flounder in a verbal extremism. This element, both in its internal and in its international aspect, is outside the framework which today would permit the creation and the deep-rooting in Greece of a broad and fruitful democratic movement, without its being struck down and demolished during its early stages of growth. It is characteristic that when the Communist leadership even talks about a democratic front, this is understood in a completely sectarian, basically impractical way, and those who directly or indirectly echo the psychology of the Communist leadership are less interested in a real democratic unity and more in using the pretense of unity to strike down the democratic forces which are not under the control of the Communist leadership. The leadership of KKE has itself fallen under (indeed to a large degree) the law of the general decay of the Greek political world.
- "9. The reconstitution of the people's forces, moreover, cannot exist to a decisive degree within the framework and with the exclusive seal of any of the existing political organizations of the non-Communist and lawful left. It is possible for each one of these organizations to present a greater or lesser ideological weight and a corresponding political substance and to have contributed more or less to the democratic struggle of the people. None of these forces, however, is in a position, through its own mechanism, exclusively to furnish the leadership, to inspire and to rouse all the masses of the people which must necessarily be reconstituted and must struggle for the realization of their democratic aims. Particularly there is a considerable number of fighters and leading members who, for a number of reasons, hesitate, at least immediately, to join any party, while at the same time they sincerely intend to participate in a more general democratic struggle. This situation makes it imperative to form a front of the democratic and popular forces. Regardless of whether the presence and initiative of the chief forces of the democratic left in this movement is natural, this front, with the prospect which it involves, is placed beyond the present fixed line-up of left-center-right. At the point which has been reached by the crisis of the bourgeois political world, this front has the prospect of including every honest element, regardless of its political origin, that

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believes in democracy and is disposed to stand militantly at the side of the people. This front will thus have the prospect of expressing the unity of the people's forces, provided that it takes a broader base. At the same time it will offer the frame wherein will progressively be found the general renaissance of the people's movement and of the political life of the country. This front is the Democratic Union of Workers and Farmers (DEEA).

"10. The DEEA is not merely an electoral coalition like the Democratic Coalition (in the 5 March elections). Neither is it a new party camouflaged under the form of a 'front'. DEEA is a political movement which answers the present phase of the struggle and whose development and aims will be defined by the development and progress of this phase. By facing up to the present counter-revolutionary situation and the basically unfavorable alliance of forces, DEEA will fight and will change this alliance in order to realize the first stage of the democratic transformation of the country, which is the way out of the present dead counter-revolutionary scheme of things. This transformation means the restriction of the economic and political oligarchy, the return of the working people to social and political life, the assurance of the most elementary economic and political rights of the working people. What is necessary beyond that for the completion of the democratic transformation of the country? It means the application of final socialistic solutions; differences and new crystallizations within the democratic and popular camp are inevitable and every individual party or tendency which shall participate in the DEEA will be free to go ahead in accordance with its own individual historical and political orientation, passing through higher forms of struggle to express a more complete historical consciousness.

"11. The political aims of the DEEA for this first stage of democratic transformation are the following:

- a. Removal of all the illiberal measures of the past four years and of the consequences of the civil war, general amnesty, release of exiles, restoration of the jobs of dismissed employees.
- b. Restoration and strengthening of political, labor union and individual liberties.
- c. Democratization of the democratic mechanism and freedom from bureaucracy. Decentralization and self-government.
- d. Striking down the old party tradition and every Caesar-like ambition.
- e. Prompt parliamentary, municipal and local elections.

"12. The economic aims of DEEA for the first stage of the democratic transformation are the following:

- a. A blow against capitalistic monopolies, social parasitism and profiteering.
- b. Restoration and development of the productive forces with a parallel industrialization and intensive development of agriculture and of the other natural resources.
- c. Utilization of foreign aid for the benefit of the people and not for the benefit of the oligarchy.
- d. Development of cooperative organization.
- e. Bringing under the management of the national entity, with the participation of organized producers and consumers, of certain basic enterprises of public utility.

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- f. The state to assume general control of economic movement, of investments and of prices.
- g. Government soundness.
- h. Completion of agricultural distribution and reconstruction, strengthening of small agricultural property ownership and protection of the basic agricultural products.
- i. Raising the living standard of employees.
- j. Extension of social insurance and care.

"13. The international position of DEEA is the following:

- a. Except in case of a general war, which is not immediately in prospect, the position of Greece in the non-Soviet camp is definite, and any discussion about turning her to the international position and policy of the Eastern Bloc is utopian. In the anti-Run-Asiatic phase through which we are passing such discussion constitutes a clear provocation.
- b. Inside the non-Soviet camp Greece ought to follow a pro-peace policy in general and should avoid any anti-Soviet provocation. It should not accept new international obligations which will involve her in the system of antagonism between America and the USSR.
- c. The Greek people, in accepting American aid, which is valuable for the reconstruction of the country, ought to struggle so that this aid shall not become the beginning of a diminution of their national independence. The Greek people will assure their independence, not by waging a paper war against the Americans, but by taking into their hands the government and administration of the country and by applying a national policy consonant with their own political criteria.
- d. The Greek people ought to fortify and to defend their national integrity and security. The most effective means for this, however, is the practice of a consistent pro-peace policy by this country.
- e. The pro-peace orientation makes it imperative to support every international effort and initiative from any source whatsoever that will contribute toward the lessening of international antagonism, to the limitation and control of armaments, to the solution of outstanding international problems by peaceful means, to the avoidance of armed interventions, to the prevalence of the spirit of the United Nations, to the respect for small countries on the part of large countries, to the hindering of faits accomplis and dynamic solutions and to the national emancipation of colonial peoples.

"14. DEEA as an organization and as a movement is strictly and immovably set in the framework of existing legality. It looks to realizing its aims exclusively by democratic means of struggle and it is fighting in order to broaden progressively the democratic framework and to make democratic means of waging the struggle continually more fruitful and more effective.

"15. For the realization of its aims DEEA will look to the following:

- a. Dissolving the atmosphere of cold terrorism, restoring to the masses of the people the feeling of their political and personal security and restoring to them their consciousness of their social strength

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- a. Channeling as many more labor and popular forces as possible into economic and political struggles.
 - b. Educating the working people regarding the necessity of the democratic transformation and the democratic means of realizing them. Detaching the greatest possible portion of the people from the influence of the old parties or of other illegitimate political institutions into which they had been led or are being held by the anti-Communist phobia.
 - c. Giving a new organizational form to the movement .. a form that is basically democratic. Developing the initiative of the masses where it is imperative that there be a decision or action on their part.
 - d. Contributing toward the reconstitution and regeneration of the professional movement of the employees with the predominance of a free labor union movement among them.
 - e. Contributing toward the regeneration and the health of the agricultural and consumer cooperative organizations with free cooperation prevailing among them.
 - f. Creating a new spiritual movement in the country which will face up to contemporary historical necessities of the nation and which will renew the more genuine progressive traditions.
- "16. Party and non-party organizations participate in DEEA and so do individuals who sincerely believe in the historical necessity of the democratic transformation, in the political necessity of realizing this within democracy and by democracy, and who accept the program of the organization. DEEA expresses in particular the alliance of the two basic classes of workers in the country, the laborers and the farmers, and beyond that the unity of all the working and oppressed people. DEEA is an organization of the people which insures a united political activity in every sector of the work. It is democracy organized from top to bottom, and the appointment of its leadership will be made in accordance with the organization which will be formed in the meantime."

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